

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tubatulabal NS22

302 sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled
[765] up to project over string, thus shading face. At
death of husband woman burned back hair to neck
length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soap-
[824] root (ho·olo·hpi·l), *Lathoe pomeridiana* (DC) Raf.,
[388] pounded, or roots *Chenopodium californicum* Wats.
[515] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and
[296] used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit
of *Cucurbita foetidissima* HBK (iihabi·l) used also
to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair
every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . .
... take great care of the hair and do it up in
a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to roll-
ing up of hair to project over string (above).
[515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil)
solution and letting powder stay on scalp for
[301] several days. At dances women put loose eagle
down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls
of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wĩn'it) made from fibrous outer sheath
of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant
green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3
bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in.
long, twined together at one end with native
string to form flat, narrow brush. This hair-
[413] brush similar to one women used when pounding
meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was
wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined
together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers
wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form tri-
angular handle; said to have been "used for hair
and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine
needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of
rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break
off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and win-
ter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the
young men are fine fellows, and the women very
comely and clean, bathing themselves every little
while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks
(tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances.
Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells,
long shell cylinders (hobo'ap'ın) made from colum-
[177] nella of giant clam (?), and in historic times
red, blue, black glass beads used in combination
[439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads,
shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made
shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder;
2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only
"when they danced." Women also wore strings of
small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings
(nargawili'at) consisting of short strings of
clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets
(mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by
young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of
bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth
(yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

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349 Men hunting deer in mts. camped in natural rock shelters (t'ngi-l) under overhanging ledge of rock or beneath 2 huge boulders whose tops met gable-fashion.

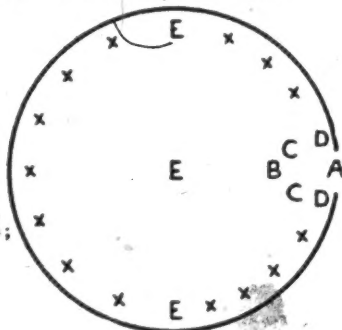
Women pounding meal, etc., at pit mortars on hot days piled up scrub oak or willows to height of 4-6 ft. around mortar bed, in order to have shade while working.

343 Sweat house.- Exterior of sweat house (mu-saht) resembled that of Koso sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 56), save that door of Tubatulabal house was lower. Interior looked much like Serrano or Pass' Cahuilla sweat house (Kroeber, Handbook, 596, pl. 60), according to SM.

343 To build sweat house, round hole some 4 ft. deep, 15 ft. wide excavated near stream or spring where artificial pool could be made. Three oak posts, 15 in. or so in diameter, 7-7 1/2 ft. high, forked at top, planted upright in straight line equidistant across pit. Ridgepole some 8 in. in diameter, 15 ft. long, set into forks of uprights. Series of smaller poles extended side by side from ridgepole to edge of pit on front, sides, back of house; these poles had bands laid down over them at 1-2-ft. intervals and brush of same variety as that used to cover houses piled on top of them, with dirt piled on top of brush. Door was in line with center upright and faced S; it was 3-3 1/2 ft. high, about 2 ft. wide, and was not hung with tule mats or any other covering because "then it would get too hot inside the sweat house" (SM). Sloping runway led from the door to floor of house. Small sweat houses with single upright pole never made (SM). "One man built sweat house; everyone used it" (SM).

343 Sweat houses heated by fire, which was made between door and middle upright; 2 firetenders (po-'anapi'l) sat on each side of fire, each with his oak firewood piled up in back of him near the door. These 2 men alternated in feeding fire; sometimes they "fought" each other by blowing flames toward each other and making hissing noises after adding fresh fuel to fire. Bathers sat between 4-ft.-high dirt walls of house and uprights, in circle opposite fire, or "all around the house" if group large one (fig. 6). As many as 30 persons could be accommodated in house described.

Fig. 6. Diagram of seating arrangement in sweat house. A, entrance; B, fire; C, firetenders; D, firewood; E, upright supports; x, sweat bathers.



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- 515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "when-ever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP).
- [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of Tubatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no longer used by Tubatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.
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- [342]
- [524
171]
- [535]
- [276]
- [177]

- 349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round brush enclosure (ho-yat, also used for brush enclosure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tubatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.
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MEANS OF TRANSPORT

- 481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.
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[p. 26(a)]

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuís; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

[P. 51b] Tubatulabal NS22

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no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

[354]

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● Y
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Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha'tim (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

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MISCELLANEOUS DATA

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Games---Women played huču'wis, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

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Pottery---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T
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Money---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth \$2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

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Blankets---P.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

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Calendar---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala'sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T
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Hair nets---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama'ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T
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[237]

Yellowhammer strips---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya'man) were known but rarely used.¹³⁰ A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T
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534

Musical instruments---The flute (uṭoi'ni) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

¹³⁰ Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).